#### THE

### EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

AND

#### ITS PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES

ВY

#### ADELE CREPAZ

WITH A LETTER TO THE AUTHORESS BY
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.



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#### MADAM,

I recently found that I had had the honour to receive, possibly from yourself, your tract on the Frauen-Emancipation. German type is somewhat trying to my failing eye-sight, but I could not resist at once reading it. And, having read it, I cannot resist offering you more than a merely formal acknowledgment. And this is not merely because my mind inclines strongly to agree in your foundation-arguments: but because, apart from mere concurrence in this or that special remark, it seems to me by far the most comprehensive, luminous and penetrating work on this question that I have yet met with. great grief is this, speaking for my own country only: that, while the subject is alike vast and profound, it is commonly treated in the slightest and most superficial, as well as sometimes in

the most passionate manner. In such a region it is far better, as between opposite risks, to postpone a right measure than to commit ourselves to a wrong one. To save us from this danger what we want is thorough treatment, and you have given it the most thorough treatment which I have yet seen applied to it. You have opened up many new thoughts in my own mind, but I cannot follow them out. I only wish the treatise had been open to my countrymen and countrywomen in their own tongue.

I remain, Madam,

With high consideration,

Your faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S.—For this as well as for other subjects, I deeply regret the death of J. S. Mill: he had perhaps the most open mind of his generation.

<sup>\*\*</sup> This Letter is published by special permission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone,

## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.

In order to avoid the possibility of misconception on the part of English readers of the following essay, it seems well to point out that, although written principally with a view to considering the movement in its effects upon Germany and Austro-Hungary, the authoress has carefully studied and taken into account the conditions existing in other countries of Europe. Whilst, however, acknowledging most fully the benefit accruing to the women of Great Britain from increased facilities for self-support, it is against their claim to equal political and social rights with men that Frau Crepaz would earnestly protest, convinced that therein lies much danger to the welfare of humanity.

The recognition accorded to her views by England's Prime Minister is some indication that they are not without supporters in this country.

ELLIS WRIGHT.

LONDON, January 1893.

# THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

It is no light task, at the present juncture, to discuss the dangers of a movement of which the fruitful seeds are rapidly spreading throughout the whole world.

A new era of justice and humanity seems about to dawn upon mankind, and with it the morning glow of promise of freedom from narrowing restraints and prejudices. In every quarter of the world the banner of "Women's Rights" is being waved, the movement, taking ever deeper

and deeper root in the Western Hemisphere, penetrating even to the remote East, until the tranquil life of the Hindoo woman is stirred with its vibration. On all sides we witness spirited women gathering round the standard, attesting by their energy and ability that they are worthy representatives of their views. Furthered and supported by men of mark, the question of the Emancipation of Women has attained to results which some fifty years ago would have been looked upon as simply impossible: indeed those results are now reaching far beyond their primary intention, they are shooting beyond the goal. While, however, these successes are being welcomed by thousands and thousands of the sex with acclamation, and fresh exertions are being made to exact new rights, it is well to

pause a while, as by a sign-post set up to tell the way-farer the road he has come and whither it leads. The torrent rushes unhindered from the steep mountain heights to the valley beneath-who may stem its course? A great movement spreads ever wider and wider—who shall bid it stop? It is beyond the power of the individual. Perhaps some great event of universal import may bring about a truce, perhaps the coming century may bring its solution to the much-vexed question, perhaps women themselves, warned by hard-won experience, may be willing to desist from wresting those rights which, while they hold out to freedom and independence, turn them from what ensures not only their own happiness and well-being, but also from that upon which the welfare of the whole human race is grounded. To point this out is the object of this treatise.

The emancipation of women, their deliverance from early prejudices and unnatural trammels, was a necessity which the development of culture and the altered condition of industrial relations was bound, by degrees, to bring about. The progress resulting from it, conducing to the wellbeing of thousands, cannot be denied, and demands the fullest recognition. It has opened up new possibilities of employment to women, and by thus relieving them from the burden of empty conventional prejudices, has given work to thousands of willing hands, and afforded scope for much latent intellectual power. Work, which in former times was looked upon as a degradation to ladies of position, is

now elevated to a moral power, and the gentlewoman in reduced circumstances no longer needs to earn her living with tears of humiliation and in secret. Openly she shows the world that she intends to turn her abilities to good account, and no one dreams of withholding from her the right. The independent callings which have been opened up to women of late shelters them from the humiliation of seeking dependent positions among their more wealthy relatives, or from being forced, for the sake of a home, to the necessity of marrying against their inclinations. So far the emancipation of women has tended to the culture and ennobling of the sex, and must serve to keep it from some errors, and from the consciousness of empty, vapid lives. True, in all ages, there have been remarkable

women who have endeavoured to force the narrow limits of social opinion, but it has remained to the 19th century to bring about the great reformation in the position of women.

The position of its women is the test of a nation's culture. Among all uncivilised races the woman is looked upon as a beast of burden. The Zulu Kaffir only works until he can buy himself a cow and a wife, then they must work for him. The right over the life and death of the wife belongs in most savage races to the husband, who uses his power, as a rule, most arbitrarily. In ancient times the wife was either subject to, or the slave of, her husband. Among the Greeks, the most cultured of all races, the woman had no "position." Shut out from public

life, her place was in her home, and her function in the education of her children -of her boys up to a certain age only. In spite of this we find a considerable number of learned women and philosophers among them, who, with but few exceptions, were reckoned as aliens. Nor was there wanting, from time to time, an endeavour to rouse woman from her intellectual apathy. Aspasia, the gifted wife of Pericles, essayed to exert her influence upon the women of Athens; Plutarch wrote that "women must also receive culture;" Aristotle advocated equal rights in wedlock; and Plato even in his day brought forward the question of Women's Rights. "Many women," said he, "are better calculated for certain things than many men, nor is there any department of Government work which is exclusively adapted for woman as woman, or for man as man; but the gifts of nature being in like manner divided between the sexes, according to nature man and woman share alike in all occupations, only that in all things woman is the weaker part." Nevertheless, no rights in public life were conceded to the sex, nor did women exercise any influence upon it.

In Rome, where women had greater freedom and enjoyed higher consideration in family life, they were still politically ignored; they might not avail themselves of the *jura publica*, had no equality in marriage rights, no equal parental authority, no power of representing the family. Whether women offered noble examples of sacrifice to the country, or others plotted

against and betrayed them, no political rights were conceded to them, no public recognition accorded them. Among the ancient Teutons, women were held in special esteem. Tacitus tells us the people looked upon them as "something divine." At home they acted as the representatives of their husbands, they ruled their houscholds, and busied themselves with men and maids in the work of clothing and providing. In war, wives, with their children, accompanied their husbands, inciting them to deeds of bravery, tending the wounded, and refreshing the weary. Yet, notwithstanding the high regard in which they were held, women were still considered by old German law to be under male tutelage; the father, or, in the case of a married woman, the husband, possessing

rights of death, of chastisement, or of sale over them. Although with lapse of time these rights lost much of their power, the man still retained his supremacy. Christianity first exercised an ennobling influence upon the moral position of woman, according her her true place in society. For centuries woman has remained, politically and socially, in the background; stirring events, the rise and fall of nations, emigrations, crusades, the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, the finding of new continents, the greatest discoveries, all have taken place without woman's participation.

True, there have ever been examples: distinguished women sovereigns, women of learning, authoresses, and artists, who have followed the promptings of their own inner convictions free from all emancipation

crazes. The first germ of emancipation was in the French Revolution. In the period preceding it, women had exercised an important and baleful influence upon the Court and society. It was the women of the lower orders in Paris who brought on the decisive moment of the Revolution. While they who had already formed themselves into women's clubs were demanding the right of social equality with men, by the Convention of May 21st, 1791, the presence of women in political gatherings was declared unlawful. In that period, during which all existing laws and customs were shaken to their foundations, in which the holiest institutions were desecrated and outraged, women adopted a freer mode of dress and morals: la merveilleuse and le costume sauvage were extravagances which

had already died out under the Directorate, and which have nothing to do with the Women's Rights question of to-day. First in the Revolution of July did the cry of woman's social equality with man come again to the fore in France, and then it was that the movement, which was closely allied with socialistic ideas, took the name of the Emancipation of Women. However, France did but give the impetus; the practical solution of it ripened in England and America.

In the little town of Seneca Hall, in the State of New York, a meeting of American women was held in 1848, in which a resolution was passed to the effect that "the one half of humanity, weighted with equal

¹ The dates here given are taken from the preface by Jenny Hersch to the German translation of .'. S. Mill's "Subjection of Women."

responsibilities and with duties as exalted, demands equal rights with the other physically stronger half."

The champions who had called this meeting together, supported their claims with spirit. Besides Mrs. Elizabeth Anthony Stanton, there were present Frau Anneke, who went with her husband to America in 1849, and who, in 1857, had already started a German newspaper for ladies in the Far West, in which she advocated the question of Women's Rights with the greatest enthusiasm; the Misses Anthony, Pauline Davis, Lucy Stone, Ernestine Roye, Julia Ward Howe, editor of the Woman's Journal in Boston and Chicago, Tinnie Classin, and many others. We have not space here to enumerate all the names connected with the movement; we shall return later to

America, the Eldorado of women. Their efforts have been crowned with success. At the present day we see women in America filling almost every calling, every office, formerly reserved to men. physicians, lawyers, professors, Government officials, clergywoman, ladies everywhere, only the diplomatic and political careers and judgeships are as yet unrepresented by them. The women, having thus acquired equality with men in nearly all professions, are keen to obtain political rights, and the question is being largely agitated America.

In Europe, where the discovery and application of machinery and railways have developed new industrial capabilities, the domestic position of women has undergone a change in every country; and there has

been a general movement to promote opportunities for women to earn their own living. Much as has been said and written about this movement for the improvement of the domestic and social position of women, it is certain that its true commencement is to be sought in the year 1860. After America, it was in England that it next took practical root. The census of 1856 had disclosed the startling fact that two millions of the women of Great Britain were obliged to gain their own living, and, the greater number of these being women of the upper classes, their sole choice lay between tuition and needlework. The Social Science Congress, held shortly afterwards at Bradford, gave the subject their most earnest consideration, with the result that an Association for the Promotion of Ladies' Industry was

started in London in the year 1860, which has served as the model for similar institutions, which in course of time have been founded in every important town in the United Kingdom. Soon afterwards appeared Mill's celebrated book, "The Subjection of Women," in which that great economist eloquently advocated the political, social, and civil rights of women. His work, falling like a spark among the tinder of an already excited community, did much for the question of Women's Suffrage. Even the most ardent champions of the cause could have had little thought that, by degrees, all the occupations they were then struggling to obtain for their sex, would be thrown open to them. Even if the women of America do possess greater privileges than their English sisters, the latter still enjoy very

many, and they have two special provinces in which they reign supreme -in education, in its widest sense, from the nursery to reformatory school and the universities, and in the art of nursing, from its elements to the actual practice of medicine. Universities, academies, hospitals, technical and commercial schools, all now admit lady students to train for their several callings. In Parliament alone women have no voice, although Disraeli once said that in a country ruled by a woman, it would be only natural that women should be enfranchized. As we know, Mill was an enthusiastic advocate of Women's Suffrage, and John Bright favoured the claim of the self-dependent, taxpaying matron, that is, of maiden ladies and widows, pointing out that a married woman is sufficiently represented by her husband.

If now we glance at the development of the emancipation of women in Germany, we find the first evidences of it during the great period of revolutionary agitation. In the years 1848 and 1849, Louise Otto started a woman's journal, and almost simultaneously founded a high school for girls in Hamburg. But the times were not ripe for such enterprizes; both resulted in failure; and it is not until 1860 that we find the question taking form in Germany and Austro-Hungary. Associations for the promotion of the employment of women began to be founded in both countries, and have since been very prosperous. Thousands of women have obtained situations as teachers, as Post Office or telegraph clerks, or in public offices, thus finding opportunities of earning their own living by either brain

work or hand work. Nevertheless, German universities and academies are still closed against them, and although petitions for the admission of women to higher education, bearing many thousands of signatures, have been presented to the Imperial Council, they have so far proved unavailing.

Women, however, are far from unanimous in their desire for political suffrage; even in England there is a strong counter movement. In the Nineteenth Century an article recently appeared in which appeal was made to the good sense and sound judgment of English women against the spread of feeling in favour of Women's Suffrage. This article, signed by the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley, the Duchess of St. Albans, Mrs. Goschen, Mrs. Huxley, Mrs. Alma Tadema, Mrs. Max Müller, and many other ladies, concludes with the words: "We are convinced that the pursuit of a mere outward equality with men is for women not only vain but demoralising. It leads to a total misconception of woman's true dignity and special mission. It tends to personal struggle and rivalry, where the only effort of both the great divisions of the human family should be to contribute the characteristic labour and the best gifts of each to the common stock."

If we now consider the state of woman's emancipation in different countries at the present time, we find that in each, according to its social and domestic development, new conditions have been established, by which women have gained facilities for employment in public and Government offices. It is pre-eminently a question for the middle classes to decide. Titled ladies,

and those belonging to the "upper ten" stand aloof. Nor has it any interest for the women of the lower orders, their right to help their husbands in providing a living being, unfortunately, but too well established. Did we, however, even desire to wrest for ourselves, in Germany and Austro-Hungary, a position as favoured as that held by the women of America and England, we should still need to consider how widely different are our conditions. Social regulations are the consequence of the psychological developments of a people, and are not easily transplanted. As, with an exotic, the ground first needs preparation, so should we need first to clear away the old established manners and customs, endeared to us for centuries past, in order to attain to the requisite conditions for the new state of things. Above all, we

have to take into consideration that culture in the New and Old Worlds is totally different. In America it is the product of modern times; whilst in Europe, culture and education have been the work of centuries of struggle and enlightenment. True, much of Old World prejudice and many trammels have remained to us; but, on the other hand, we are free from many of the errors and notions of the New. America leads the way in the magnitude of its discoveries, in its machinery and in agriculture, to the latter, climatic conditions and the fruitfulness of the land having proved so favourable; but Europe, the cradle of ancient culture, excels her in every branch of art and science. We would like the New World to a tall tree shooting high overhead; Europe to one naturally developed, bearing its good, sound fruit in due season.

The privileged position of women in America is due to many causes. From the Mother Country was imbibed the respect and veneration in which she is held there, added to which in the early history of America, women were numerically far fewer in proportion to men, and thus, more sought after. Also the many gifted, clever women who so courageously accompanied their husbands across the Atlantic, there to found a new home, may have largely contributed to exalt and strengthen the esteem in which women are held among them. Lastly, the high degree of culture among American women tends much to ensure them that respect which we see paid to them by all classes of men. Nor was the emancipation of women in America a question of their earning their bread, as in Europe; nor has it to do with a surplus

female population, causing comparatively few marriages, and hence obliging them to seek a means of subsistence. The numerical superiority of the male population renders marriage easy in America, while the relatively better incomes of the husbands render it unnecessary for their wives to seek to make money; and their system of almost general life insurance provides for the widows. Higher education first led the American woman to aspire to positions in which she could turn her intellectual abilities to account; her inborn love of freedom and independence spurred her on to make a path in life for herself. No ground was so propitious to emancipation as America; in no land has the seed made such rapid growth. Nor must we overlook the fact that domestic conditions in America are altogether different from ours. The

machines to be met with in every household, are economisers of time and labour, and, withal, Americans live more simply, and expend less time upon cookery and the table. than we do. In numerous American families. no cooking whatsoever is done on Sundays, save the making of coffee and tea. Many families live altogether in hotels, are born and die in them. These simplified domestic conditions afford their women more leisure for culture and for participation in intellectual pursuits. On the other hand, they are no "housewives" according to our ideas, and trouble themselves but little about the performance of their household duties, which indeed, are far less onerous than ours. The woman of the Northern States of America — and it is of her we exclusively speak—is, on an average, more

highly educated than the men. As M. Wilckens tells us, "She is the pioneer of culture, the foster-nurse of Art and Science, the most eager advocate for public instruction." She supplants man in those careers which of right belong to him by reason of his superior abilities, without making any mark in them herself, estranging herself even further from the aim of her natural vocation. She does not grasp the idea of her life's work as "woman," but assuming equal rights with man, forgets the laws of nature, which assign to each sex their several tasks in life. Her independent standing is not without influence upon her spirit; her heart grows less sensitive to tender emotions, and a marriage of reason is the only one she thinks It is well-known that the happiest marriages in America are those contracted be-

tween American men and German women. The German wife surrounds her husband with affectionate care and solicitude, and devotes herself to making his home life intensely happy and bright; while the American husband, thoroughly appreciating her good qualities, treats her with the greatest consideration and deference. The European looks upon the American woman as a curiosity, and is slower to select her as a companion for life, unless it be for the large fortune she brings him; she is incapable of fulfilling his expectations of her as woman, wife, mother, and mistress of his house. Our domestic arrangements are not only more comfortable, but more complex; our social claims demand more from her, the education of her children devolves upon her, and her presence is more in lispensable than in an

American house. Did we desire to introduce the independent standing of the American woman among us, it would entail great changes in our public and home relations, changes which could scarcely be brought about among us, so opposed are they to the spirit and character of the German people and their time-honoured institutions.

Let us now turn from America to England. There the last census tells us that the women of Great Britain are in a preponderance of half a million, with the result that spinsters greatly outnumber the marrying men. London alone shows a female population of almost two millions, added to which it is more difficult for their middle class to set up house-keeping than with us, because of the far greater expenses entailed by the number of

servants, and their pretensions to luxury; thus most of the single women who strike out an independent path for themselves are among their middle class. We have already shown the facilities afforded them in this aim by the Government, nor should it be forgotten that her colonies absorb a vast amount of England's national intelligence. The native women of India are forbidden to call in a male doctor, hence a considerable number of lady doctors are required. Colonial schools, also, are mostly conducted by women.

John S. Mill's great book on "The Subjection of Women" speaks of the tyranny exercised over married women, but his advocacy only applies to the women of England, where a wife is dependent upon the will of her husband. In Austro-

Hungary and in Germany, where the law accords the wife equal rights with her husband over the possession and management of her property, in divorce or separation, etc., there can be no question of lawful tyranny over the wife. Mills' celebrated book, translated into all languages, has excited immense feeling among women, and has been the cause of much error among that impressionable sex. A cry of indignation at the white slavery of women has resounded throughout Europe, people in their indignation forgetting that his representations of the subjection of women applied only to the injustices of English law, by which their rights were so cruelly limited.

Yet, despite the injustice of their law. English women are treated with great deference in their own country, and the everincreasing Women's Rights' movement is proof of their great influence. It would be ridiculous to maintain in the present day that women are their husband's slaves. In all periods there have been brutal men of the lower classes who have maltreated their wives; and in the higher circles too we may come across instances of the wife being cruelly oppressed by a tyrannical husband; but we must not forget that sometimes these cases are reversed, and many a man has to suffer from the misery of a domineering wife.

When we point to the differences existing between the circumstances of our own country and those of England and America, we must also include Russia, where the movement for Women's Rights has assumed such

vast dimensions. In the wide dominions of the Czar, where the education of the people is at so low a level, and the enormous standing army draws so many thousands of the male population from other callings, there is a great dearth of intellectual power, which can only be supplied by women, here as elsewhere, of the middle class. During the Russo-Turkish War, there having been a great scarcity of doctors and surgeons, the services of twenty-five Russian lady students, in their fourth and fifth years medical course, were solicited to lend their services. Their work of self-sacrifice obtained the fullest recognition, and since that period, many ladies have gained distinction in the medical profession: one important factor here being, that in the Russian provinces and possessions, where the Mahommedan religion prevails, women

only consult lady doctors. In Russia, ladies not only hold a prominent position as instructors, but are much employed in the service of the State.

Similar conditions regarding the Women's Rights movement have prevailed in the North of Europe, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. while in the South, where the luxuriance of Nature lightens labour, and where, above all, the Southern temperament as well as the different customs of the country form important factors, the question of Women's Rights makes but slow progress. It is remarkable that in France, the mother country of ultra-refinement and culture, the position of women should be, socially and legally, less favoured than in any other. In the French Revolution, as we have said, when men and women alike were led to the

guillotine, there arose a cry for the equality of the sexes, which, however, soon died away unheard. Napoleon, who made a careful study of the question of the population of France, would concede no legal rights to women; his hatred and persecution of the gifted Madame de Staël, who ventured to have a political opinion of her own, are well known. The Code Napoleon accords a young girl no claim upon her seducer: "Toute recherche de paternité est defendue—" With this paragraph is settled the inconvenience of paternal obligations. And yet, as though French women would make amends to themselves for the injustice of the law, there is no country where woman exercises such influence in society. French literature affords us abundant proof of this. As a whole, the French woman is

inferior to her German sister in higher education, but what she lacks therein is amply compensated for by her practical common sense. It is acknowledged that the women of France and of Switzerland excel in business, and often conduct large industries with ability and circumspection. The country is rich, and the products of the land and its industries feed the people. Want is only to be found in large towns, for instance in Paris, where the growth of numbers, as in all capitals, makes the question of living a more difficult one.

The domestic prosperity of the country and woman's active participation in business, has prevented the question of Women's Rights from becoming a burning one in France, although of late it has made some progress. How the question stands with regard to

Austro-Hungary and Germany we have already seen, nor is woman with us ever likely to assume the prominent position in public and Government offices, which she does in the above-mentioned countries. We have no colonies abroad, no surplus million of female population, and no lack of intellectual power amongst our men.

In our hasty sketch of the social and intellectual conditions affecting the question of Women's Rights in various countries, we find, as we said before, certain differences which tend to either favour to check the movement, thereby rendering its universal progress less desirable.

Physiology teaches us that by nature the physical constitution of man, as regards bone and muscle, is stronger than that of woman, the natural inference being that man has the greater capacity for mental and bodily labour.

In recent times much attention has been given to the brain of woman; the circumstance that its size is considerablyabout some  $5\frac{3}{8}$  ozs. (152 gramm.)—less than man's, points to the conclusion that woman does no equal man in brain power. Professor Büchner, also, the great advocate for Women's Rights, affirms that women have relatively smaller foreheads, but larger skulls. From which the inference may be drawn that woman, by reason of her anatomical formation, is more designed for the sphere of feeling, man for that of reason. We must allow that this difference is more apparent among the most highly cultivated nations, less perceptible among those less cultivated,

least of all among savage races. For example—while the difference in the size of brain between a modern Parisian male and female amounts to 11 cubic inches (222 cubic centimetres), that between the Indian pariah and his wife is only 5 cubic inches (81 cubic centimetres). This circumstance goes to prove that the brain of woman - among civilised nations — has diminished in size through her having been kept in the background for long centuries, and that the difference in the relative sizes between the brains of the two sexes would considerably diminish with the higher education of woman. Only, perhaps, the more fully developed brain of woman might not then be in proportion to her other powers.

It is true that the representatives of Women's Rights contend that a woman's

muscles could be strengthened, her nerves more strung, her blood more oxygenated, by adopting different conditions of life; and Darwin teaches us that the construction of individuals is not unalterable; not absolutely pre-established as to form and capabilities. He says that the construction of species can alter strikingly in the course of generations, and is capable of artificial training in any given manner. Woman's constitution could be hardened, made more fit for corporeal labour, but only at the cost of her specific purpose, for Nature does not suffer any infringement of her laws to remain unpunished. We cannot tell in what manner the intellectual and physical nature of woman would be transformed by changed methods of training and education; we are unable to measure the advantages, but only the disadvantages, which

must ensue to future generations from such an over-forcing of female strength. Nature having endowed man with superior strength, has laid upon him the greatest burden of labour; it is not by virtue of law and custom that woman is excluded from following man's callings. Nature assigns to everyone his sphere. Were a man and woman to be cast upon a desert island in the 19th century, the man would, of a surety, set to to build a hut, would till the ground, go hunting, etc., whilst the woman would take upon herself the lighter task of preparing food and making garments. Her more delicately constituted frame, and the duty of motherhood, instinctively teach her this. As the man would have to provide the necessaries of life for their common existence, so would the woman, on her side, have to turn

to account the raw products and make them palatable.

In such a state of nature, the division of labour, the thorough adaptation of male and female resources, would come of itself. The surroundings of our modern culture are, it goes without saying, widely removed from any such state of nature. Still, here as there, to each, Nature has given his appointed task. Those unchanging laws not even the refinements of culture may infringe; woman ever remains the guardian and natural educator of coming races, and this task alone excludes her from competing in other spheres with man. With this task, Nature has imposed a solemn duty upon woman, the neglecting of which, says Professor Suess, is "a degeneration, a sin against Nature amounting to interference with the physical development of coming generations." To those who would throw contempt upon the dignity of motherhood and its duties, I would quote these beautiful words of his, "To me there is no more sublime, elevating spectacle in the whole world than that of a mother, who gives herself up to the fulfilment of her duties. No other aim should be placed before her sex."

The latest emancipation theory sets this aim on one side, its representatives being only anxious to demonstrate practically that the feminine sex is fully capable of taking a part in masculine duties and pursuits. While the highly questionable prospect of an increase of physical strength by means of a different system of life is presented to us, woman's intellectual activity is being largely enhanced. We hear of women such as Miss Garrett, Miss Fry, Mrs. Chisholm, Miss

Carpenter, Miss Nightingale, Miss Florence Blackwell, and others, who have undoubtedly attained to eminence in the careers they have chosen. The mistake lies in forgetting that these are exceptional women, not types of the female sex, and who afford no standard for the measure of the community.

It is also advanced that in an examination of male and female students the latter often come off best. Yet it were a fallacy to deduce from this that women are more calculated for study than are men. The fact can be traced to various reasons. Those women who now devote themselves to higher education are exceptionally gifted; whilst the young men of the upper classes, as a rule, study whether they have special qualifications or not. To make higher education among women general

would be to show many a failure. In the words of Professor Geheimrath Waldeyer, "The increase of the quantity would be at the expense of the quality." Nor must we forget that lady students are not subject to the same temptations and dissipations as are young men: wines, card parties, and the lower pleasures, do not appeal to them. The young girl who sets a serious aim before her, only to be accomplished, at the present time, by dint of many a sacrifice harder than a man has to undergo, will throw all her moral and intellectual power into the task of accomplishing her end; whilst far beyond all personal interests she feels that upon her it devolves to do honour to the flag to which she has pledged fidelity, and win a victory for the cause of Women's Rights. Hence a higher consciousness, a more indomitable energy, steels her powers, urging her on to study.

Numberless women, on both sides of the ocean, have proved themselves capable of filling men's places; it matters not whether women could produce a Goethe, a Shakespeare, a Newton, etc., for these have been units among millions and millions of men. We are persuaded that women could succeed in equalling men's average standard in their different callings, and that among the lady professors of medicine, law, etc., there would be eminent examples.

Having conceded this, and considered it as possible that women should succeed in reaching and filling professional careers, the solution to the woman's question brings us face to face with a far more serious one-the man's question, as a gifted writer in a recent

magazine has put it. For not women alone, but coming generations, are threatened by dangers lightly overlooked in the present day.

To these dangers we would now point, as we go more closely into the question which here involuntary presents itself: "Whether the equality of woman with man would be for the welfare of mankind at large?" In so important an upheaval of social relations this is the question we must keep prominently before us. The circumstance that individually gifted women are capable of entering successfully upon masculine careers, of making a name and position for themselves, is of no vital moment, and does not touch the main question.

We are speaking now of the complete removal of the social and political disabilities of women, to be fought for step by step by the combatants for Women's Rights; and not of those reforms which have been beneficently wrought in her position by modern opinion. Let us suppose woman's equality with man to be an established fact, we then have the woman standing side by side with man in the great arena of life, fighting for the same aims, the same rights, unconsciously, without will or intention, injuring his interests.

As woman's new education becomes more extended, her knowledge will be more thorough and deeply grounded. In comparison with that of a boy of the same age, a girl's intelligence is quicker, her ambition greater, her moral consciousness more highly developed; added to which, the endeavour to attain to her new sphere with credit will

spur her on to utmost exertion. As a lawyer, a Government employee, etc., she will prove a dangerous competitor to man. She has the advantage of being more practical; her wants are more simple, less costly than his; thus she can offer her services for less salary.

Already Government and private offices are readily employing the services of ladies as cheaper and more reliable. With increased production, the limits of their possibilities will doubtless widen, yet it is to be feared that, with the increase of feminine competitors, the supply will exceed the demand; thus bringing about a lowering of the price of the commodity, which will affect the national prosperity. Do we not already suffer from over-production of intellectual force? A young man's studies over,

there comes the difficult question of finding an opening for him; he needs to exert all his energies to find a suitable post, and, when in it, to keep it, even though it does not bring him in enough to hold body and soul together. The assize courts and the accounts of suicide give tragic proof of the incessant struggle of intellectual and moral powers against competition. If women are to adopt the same course of study as men, there will be almost double the number of applicants for situations, which will not multiply in the same ratio. Have we not already an over-production of feminine talent in the market? Have not pianistes, concert singers, lady reciters flooded our concert-rooms to that extent, that no concert giver, unless she be celebrated, or supported by most

distinguished patronage, stands a chance of even clearing her expenses? Our picture galleries are crowded with the works of lady artists which excite admiration-yet how many of them are sold? In every publisher's office lie MSS. of lady authoresses, acknowledged or dilettante, offering their works for publication without honorarium; hundreds of certificated governesses are vainly seeking situations, because their number exceeds the demand, and even that calling is over-stocked.

If we glance at those seeking lady clerkships in postal or telegraph offices, they are not much better off. The advertisement columns of every newspaper are filled with offers of teaching of every description on incredibly low terms. Thus, here as there, among male as well as female com-

petitors, the market is overcrowded. Were women, then, to succeed in driving the men out of situations, their victory could but be attended with evil consequences, which must react upon themselves. For the lower a man's earnings, the less is he able to make a home for a wife. Competition between men and women would but tend to still further lessen the everdecreasing number of marriages. And it is just this decrease in marriage, not to be striven against by individual effort or by State interference, which is the sore point in woman's emancipation. The decrease of marriages first started the question of Women's Rights, which in its turn has brought about its still further decrease, and must continue most materially to affect the question of marriage, as we shall show,

if all the demands of emancipation be granted.

"He who strikes at matrimony," says Goethe, "he who by word or deed undermines the very foundation of . civilised society, let him have it out with me; and if I cannot convince him, I will have no more of him. Marriage is the beginning and the acme of all culture." And not only Goethe, but nearly all great men have held marriage in high esteem. How many distinguished men have found their happiness in it; by the care and encouragement of their wives they have derived that physical and mental power which has led them on to fresh exertions. Marriage is moral, natural, the proper aim in life of the individual, serviceable to the State and to society. Marriage works a great moral

influence alike upon husband and wife, suppresses selfishness, awakens self-abnegation and moral power, purifies mind and heart. Only to a married woman are reserved the highest joys—sometimes also the deepest sorrows; she alone can realise the perfect fullness of life, as experienced in her natural vocation, the one and only true aim of If marriage, then, has power to confer happiness upon our greatest men, inciting them to noble works; if it can raise the mediocre man to higher aspirations, surely it again is desirable for the individual, a sacred boon to society? And all aspirations which tend to estrange the sexes by bringing about a decrease of the marriage tie are a danger to the general good of mankind.

The emancipation of women, in its latest

phase, has that tendency, because the new conditions evoked by it,—the student's life and independent calling,—must of a necessity change woman's nature. Her equality with man must diminish her womanly attributes by removing those contrasts which have hitherto attracted the sexes to each other. The husband will no longer find in his wife those feminine qualities which he values and needs to perfect his own nature. Wearied and over-wrought in his profession, he seeks peace and encouragement from his wife. But how can he expect to meet with encouragement, forbearance and indulgence towards his weaknesses. when she has the same burden as he to bear? The wife would become her husband's comrade, but no longer be the loving help-meet, lavishing her care, her sanctifying devotion upon him. This want of the true womanly attributes is already apparent, as we have said, in the American wife of the day, who is accustomed to receive every attention from her husband as a matter of course, without rendering him any of the affectionate solicitude of a German wife. A European, moreover, accustomed as he is to his wife's attentions, would not understand the situation; and our young men, under such circumstances, would regard matrimony with even more disfavour than now. Nor would the young girl any longer find the same high aim in matrimony. Her altered temperament, her diminished idealism, would lead her to seek, like men, her goal in ambition. Money and position would be her watchwords. The girl who devotes herself to higher

study is necessarily estranged from family life; the strain she has to put upon herself exempts her from all domestic duties, she becomes accustomed to think only of self, her main thought is to save money, and to consider self in all things. Involuntarily this manner of life engenders egotism and a feeling of independence in a girl, who thus becomes only willing to entertain the idea of a marriage which offers her exceptional advantages. She would say to herself, "I have my situation and can make a living myself, am accustomed to live in my own way, and have my own pleasures. Why should I bind myself in marriage?" But man does not live by bread alone.

In the States of New England, especially Boston, there are already numberless

women who make a point of refusing marriage, in order that they may employ their powers for works of general useful-Blameless as is this humane object, we can but look upon it as a deviation from the natural vocation of woman. While we would not withhold our warm recognition of those unmarried women who have stepped out of the narrow sphere of their sex to found noble institutions, and, unfettered by the ties of domestic happiness or cares, have laboured for the good of humanity, we must repeat that these are exceptional women; nor can we hide from ourselves the reflection, that should the emancipation of woman be effected, there may not be many among them capable of rising to those heights of moral excellence. We are the more strengthened in this idea

by the undeniable fact that in statistics we find the greater number of criminal actions are committed by unmarried or divorced women. In matrimony their moral ratio is at its best, thus proving that a woman needs the support, the coherence of family life, and is more likely to be led astray under circumstance of isolation. If now the participation of woman in men's avocations, by increasing competition, destroys a man's chances of setting up housekeeping — by which marriages must be seriously hindered —the changed nature of women would also act materially towards diminishing the number of marriages.

A woman's constitution is not the result of her training, not "the eminently artificial thing" we are told by John Stuart Mill that it is, but the natural consequence of her destiny. Woman, who is formed by nature to experience the pains and joys of maternity, is most certainly differently constituted from man. Unnatural conditions. a false forcing system of culture, may annihilate true womanhood in her, destroy that charm which poets delight to sing, which conquers hearts, and which has been man's cynosure for countless ages past. Is Goethe's world-wide saving, "It is the divine attribute of womanhood which attracts us," ("Das Ewig Weibliche zieht uns hinan!") to be henceforth, meaningless to us? And if the voice of the singer be silenced, the lyre breaks—who shall be the guardians of Idealism, that divine spark which alone leads us on to the great and beautiful! "The world gives nothing without a price," says Börne; "thou must either pay it with what thou hast, or, worse still, with what thou art!" And how dearly would women have to pay for their equality with men.

In contradiction to our assertion that the emancipation of women must lead to celibacy, one of our earliest and most widespread ladies' associations in Germany has maintained the exact opposite. In an address to its members, it says, "In the interests of the opponents to the further spread of celibacy, it seems expedient to advise the many sections of the educated middle classes to follow the example of the working orders, and to enable their women to earn their own living."

This association contends, as do most women's confederations, for the admission of women to the universities and other learned colleges, as well as for the per-

mission of Government to follow those scientific careers for which their studies may have qualified them. Their hope being, by women's increased facilities for moneymaking, to remedy the growing disinclination for marriage, assuming that a man of small income is more likely to marry when his wife can, by her earnings, help to keep his house. Theoretically, the assumption is correct, but, practically, it does not hold good. First, and foremost, we are met everywhere by the ever-increasing question of competition. A man even now has to strain every nerve to keep his situation; were the women authorised to practise the same callings, the competition would become still more unendurable. In the interests of society a man must necessarily earn more than a woman, because his superior strength

can hardly be supplied by paid assistance. The clever mistress can carry on her housekeeping at half the cost of a servants' management. A wife who devotes herself with understanding, activity and zeal to the conduct of her house is making money—if not in a positive, in a negative sense—for her expenditure is less. Linen, clothing, furniture, can all be made to last much longer by the order and industry of a careful mistress, and while the husband is the breadwinner, the wife, by her thrift and wise management of what he earns, is doing her full share in the matter of national economy. We cannot expect that a woman, harassed by professional work, should give the same study and care to her household as one who devotes herself entirely to it; and if, on that account, the household has to be

conducted on more expensive lines, the question arises whether the woman would earn sufficient to cover the additional outlay; besides which, we have to take into consideration that she does it at a greater expenditure of strength, which will oblige more care and building up of health. This may be answered by the fact that many married women are even now supplementing their incomes by various occupations; but supposing a wife helps in her husband's business, or devotes a certain number of hours daily to some occupation at home or abroad, it may be, in a measure detrimental to her housekeeping duties, but it does not oblige her to neglect them altogether. A woman of business retains her practical oversight, and finds it quite easy, after some hours absence, to look after

her household. But it is very different in the case of regular professional avocations, such as the calling of a doctor, lawyer, or professor. These demand undivided attention, and for a woman to have to entirely renounce the care of her household is, we repeat, a costly process. J. S. Mill seems to admit this when he says, in his oft-quoted book, "When the support of the family depends, not on property, but on earnings, the common arrangement, by which the man earns the income and the wife superintends the domestic expenditure, seems to me in general the most suitable division of labour between the two persons." We will consider further that there are periods in which a married woman must take care of herself, and during which her enforced retirement

would be detrimental to her professional work. It would depend upon her general health whether she must withdraw for weeks, or even months, from any active calling. We are aware that this circumstance has already proved a difficulty among married teachers and ladies in Government employ. But what delays would ensue, what a supply of substitutes be required, if every married woman had to seek employment! Necessity would cause many a woman, at the cost of overtaxing her strength, to hold on in her situation, or to resume it before she had allowed herself full time for recovery. This could only be done at the cost of health and of the healthy development of her children, and sad consequences could not fail to ensue.

If anæmia and nervousness are terribly on the increase among the women of the present day, a pressure of work would tell still more scriously upon them; and what would be the unhappy results of enfeebled constitutions, and of conditions of nervous excitement in mothers, upon future generations! Women may be adduced who have belied these fears. The Empress Maria Theresa was the mother of sixteen children, and was yet enabled, with but short interruptions, to devote her whole mind to the cares of State without detriment to the physical well-being of her offspring. Maria Theresa had a splendid constitution and was endowed with exceptional power of mind, and perhaps among a million it would be hard to find another woman so well able to combine her natural duties

with those of the State as she was. Or the women of the lower orders may be instanced to us, where the mother keeps on with her work until the baby's birth, and yet remains healthy, and brings strong children into the world; though people forget how many a working woman dies in childbed, or suffers some lifelong injury brought on by the overtaxing of her strength, and how many children of the poor are brought into the world still-born, or sickly and crippled from their birth. Moreover, nature comes to the assistance of the poor, and gives both mother and children tougher constitutions. A highborn mother, despite the strain of a large family, through the care and comfort by which she is surrounded, can preserve her health for many years. The women of

the middle classes, to whom the equality of the sexes will have apportioned her share in some arduous calling, must early fall a victim to the strain of repeated motherhood, because she can neither enjoy the rest and care accorded to the wealthy, nor has she the stronger constitution of the working-class.

If, therefore, woman's natural vocation of motherhood be carefully considered, it forms a powerful factor against the agitation for perfect equality between the two sexes.

We come now to the important question of the education of her children by the business or professional woman. "Education," says Garve, "is not only the most weighty of all family duties, but the most important duty of the State." A woman who educates her children well, prepares them for school, who endeavours to train them in mind, is fulfilling the greatest part towards the education of the human species. The after-work of teachers and schools can only be successful if the mother's care has made the child's heart and mind properly receptive. In doing this a woman renders her highest service to the State and to humanity.

Napoleon I. once said to Madame Campan, the founder of the Pension des Demoiselles at St. Germain, "The old systems of education are worthless—our young girls are not welltrained; what is wrong with education in France? " "The mothers," replied Madame de Campan. "You are right," answered the emperor, quickly. "In that one word is comprised the system of the whole world's education. You must train us mothers who know how to educate their children."

In these words did the great, clear-sighted Corsican elevate and establish the importance of woman's mission, as mother and instructress, upon the development of the In the same sense did the human race. Minister of Education, Baron Von Gautsch, reply when interrogated in the Austrian Imperial Parliament upon the question of "The Education of Women." "The first and highest duty of the Department of Education in what concerns the education of women, must ever be to train a woman to bring up her own children well."

We know that the most eminent men have acknowledged that it is principally to the early education and maternal influence that they owe the happy development of their talents and genius, and that they lay the world partly under obligation to them for all they

have contributed towards the glory of their country, of science and art, of the good and welfare of their fellows.

"It is an universal rule," says Michelet, "to which I have scarcely found a single exception, that remarkable men are the sons of their mothers; they bear the moral impress of their mother's individuality in themselves." It is not given to every mother to be glorified in her son's fame. Genius is born with a child. A mother's wise influence can develop it more readily and fully. There are and have been many noble, self-sacrificing mothers unknown to fame, to whom history has raised no monument, whose very names are forgotten, undying as they are, whose great intellect, inherited by their children, has made them grow into earnest, noble thinkers, and useful members of society.

"Were all mothers thoroughly to grasp their responsibilities, the education of the people," says a German writer, "would be as near to perfection as possible."

This work, so important to the State and to society, offers at once the purest, noblest joy to a woman's heart. Motherhood stands on the highest moral pinnacle of life; it embraces a whole world of joy and sorrow, of self-sacrifice and self-denial; it brings to light the noblest feelings of a woman's heart, and purifies and frees it from frivolous desires and cares. The joys of maternity, when they are really and truly experienced, bring to a woman's heart the balm of forgetfulness of past pains and sorrows, repay it for unfulfilled hopes and dreams, comfort her in every woe, reconcile her to every discord. In the love of her child she finds a recompense

for all else that life has denied to her. She lives in its future. Every joy that beams in her child's pure eyes is reflected in her own soul. And even though she must purchase this happiness at the cost of many cares, sleepless nights, much privation and denial: yet the joys far exceed the sorrows. The flower of motherhood brings with it such a sweet, Lethelike perfume, that a mother, as she sees her infant developing in health and strength, is oblivious of all the pains she has undergone.

This joy of motherhood, this precious boon to women's hearts, is menaced by the advancing claims of Emancipation. In its entirety it can only be known to those mothers who are privileged to devote themselves completely to their children. superintending their physical and mental development. The mother who has watched

her infant's first smile, has heard his first cooing sounds, has nursed and played with him, and taught him, will be far more able to understand and instruct him than her whose interests are divided between her home duties and her outside calling. Though a child's mental and moral tendencies are born with him, training can tune them to harmony or discord. The watchful eye of a mother will not overlook the good and evil tendencies in her child. Her motherly love will endeavour to eradicate the one, and encourage the other: above all she will take into account his individuality. The child who is given over to a stranger's care is deprived of his holiest rights.

When an artist is engaged upon some great work, whether in painting or sculpture

he will not scorn the opinion of his fellowartists; he may even alter or improve many a thing here and there upon their suggestion, but he will not permit another to do his work for him-will not allow the co-operation of another, however talented, to obliterate the stamp of his own individuality. And shall a mother confide her child, her own flesh and blood, her second self, bodily and intellectually to the care of a stranger? If she do it of necessity, she is to be pitied; if voluntarily, it is sinful. Our social relations are now so happily constituted that it is possible for the parents, mothers especially, to bring up their children themselves. If the political Disabilities of Women were entirely abolished, and women were thus qualified to engage in men's employments, they would

be compelled, without exception, to let others take their place in the education of their children, as is now the case in the United States. To this end they have, as we are informed by a well-known German authoress, "the aid of highlytrained scholarly teachers, who are possibly able to do more for the children than their parents could do with the best will and ability." Although we do not for an instant doubt that there are excellent teachers of both sexes, yet we hold that parents of sound head and heart are the natural, as well as the best, instructors of their own children. If they be less capable than strangers, this very want would be a proof how grievously American institutions have estranged parents from their most natural duties.

The equality of the sexes is brought forward by its advocates as the way of escape for women from everyday cares and inward dissatisfaction. It is also believed that this equality will lessen the number of unhappy marriages, on the ground that a girl who is able to earn her own living will no longer look upon marriage as her one resource, and will be less likely to enter upon it for prudential reasons. But they forget that love marriages are only contracted by people of idealistic nature, and that the girl who is battling tooth and nail in the arena with men, will soon lose her idealism. The girl of the future will become a calculating, money-making "neuter," whose heart, little sensible to love, will be guided exclusively by motives of ambition and self. Staunch

believers as we are in the idealistic standpoint, we must yet admit that even love marriages occasionally turn out unhappily if the love be not of the true, pure metal, if it do not resemble that charity of which the Apostle says it "beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things" (1st Cor. xiii. 4-7). What the world calls love is often but a passing fancy, experienced by two persons for each other—on the girl's side, of the imagination—on the man's, of sensual desire. Such love can be no safeguard from unhappiness. Wedded happiness rests upon ethical grounds, upon mutual respect—spiritual attributes which mould the union of wedlock into a harmonious whole. No marriage is free from misunderstandings or misfortunes; unfulfilled hopes, heartrending bereavements, the cares of life,

float like grey threads through every life history; no married life on earth is cloudless. A stern noble sense of duty enables a woman to stand fast by a man, even though she find herself disappointed in the husband of her choice, or even if she, actuated by ignoble motives, has married him without love. If she has children, the pure delights of motherhood yield her compensation for disappointed hopes, and if only she devote herself lovingly and unsparingly to the bringing up of her children, she will find no void in her heart. A true, genuine, intelligent mother's love will find its own reward in the love for her child and in seeing it thrive. For such a reward she can endure many a hardship; possessing such a reward she dare not call herself unhappy.

Children are often the blessed solution of years of estrangement between young married couples and the means of bringing them together again; time smooths away many differences of character, and married people learn to understand and bear with one another, and many a couple after stormy years of disagreement have known the delights of a happy after summer; the evening of their years cheered and made beautiful by seeing their children growing up around them.

Let us now glance at the fate of the single woman as years go by. As a young girl she has thrown herself into her career with enthusiasm, has entered the world with a high ideal, but by degrees disappointments, ingratitude, slights and isolation have embittered her life. Not for her the consolation

and rest of a husband's protection, not for her the knowledge of a mother's love, which reconciles and irradiates all things. For her there is no compensation in domestic happiness for the ingratitude and hardness of the world; therefore she is more keenly alive to every trial, every humiliation. Lonely, uncared for, she often, even in old age, must battle for existence, with no loving hand to lighten her cares. Even if her life has been free from adversity, its joylessness has had its depressing effect. Therefore, when we hear laments about unhappy wives, must we ever oppose the question, "Are single women happy?"

Increased facilities for earning among women will not obviate unhappy marriages; it will only bring about more frequent separations, a wife who can make

her own living, feeling herself independent of her husband. The latest statistics in Paris have shown that the greatest number of divorces have been among those where the wife has had some trade or calling, thus proving that this circumstance rather hinders than cements matrimony. If continuance in an ill-assorted union often be misery, separation has its still greater evils; and while endurance in it may bring severed hearts together again, separation rarely, if ever, does Moreover, the children of separated parents are sufferers.

The emancipation of women claims to provide for widows after the death of their husbands, by means of their studies, which will have qualified them to take up some calling for the maintenance of themselves and their children. In exposition of this view,

the talented Polish authoress, Elise Orzesku, in her social romance, "A Woman's Fate," has made her heroine, left a widow, perish miserably, unable, through want of thorough training in any single department, to gain a living for herself and her child.

This tragic story, which may well have its foundation in fact, can but be considered as an extreme case, for we are taught by universal experience that there is no misfortune which appeals so strongly to the feelings of mankind as that of the destitute widow and orphans; benevolent institutions, noble self-sacrificing individuals, relatives, friends, all are ready to lend a helping hand; and we could point with deepest satisfaction to the fact that many of our cleverest men have grown up under such adverse circumstances. A life insurance, effected where

possible by the husband, affords his widow a sure means of maintaining herself and their children if care and economy are exercised. Now, the removal of the Disabilities of Women, would, in no wise, protect a woman in her widowhood from the cares of existence, nor from the stroke of adversity. Let us suppose a woman in the pursuit of her calling as lady doctor, advocate or what not, to be stricken down by some bodily or mental infirmity—or suppose her to be unable to make way against the immense competition—and we should have her then reduced to the unfortunate position of the heroine in the before-named romance. And such cases of physical and mental breakdown would be on the increase, because a woman's constitution unfits her for the strain of such heavy work. Contemporary experience yields too many sad examples of this assertion. We do but need to refer to the melancholy case of mental derangement of the gifted authoress, Dr. Helene Druskowitz. It is undoubtedly most grievous that there should be necessitous women, who, by the expenditure of their utmost strength, can scarce maintain for themselves the bare necessities of life; yet, even to that distressing state of things, we have to oppose the not less tragical fact, that thousands of men in their struggle for existence are in the like pitiable condition, and that the list is anything but small of family men who are driven to commit suicide, year by year, because they cannot find the means to support themselves and their families. The number of men who are driven to lay violent hands upon themselves far outweighs that of women-who. principally for psychological reasons, mental derangement, melancholia, disappointed love, are tempted to rush into a self-inflicted death. In this we see proof that women, under the most adverse circumstances, find it easier to supply their simple wants than are men similarly placed.

What law, what social regulation, would avail to lessen or remove the destitution, alike of men and women? Here we are brought face to face with an unsolved problem. Socialists, anarchists, communists, idealists, all believe themselves to have found the right way. While one would excite to revolt and violence against holders of property, another preaches the gospel of true humanity. According to Bellamy, all should be thrown into one common fund, the whole capital of human skill and knowledge, and

power and ability of the individual, should be used for the good of the community. But what authority would avail to elevate mankind, when this innate selfishness is diametrically opposed to such an ideal standpoint, what authority would avail to raise it to such a height? Even if it may scarcely fall to the lot of the people of the 20th century to see a solution of the social question in a community of goods, we can still hope that mankind will be advancing more and more toward perfection, and that in the light of genuine love one for another, the fruit of the grand tree of humanity may be ripening by degrees. The Peace Congress in the "Heavenly City" seems like the rosy glow of a new era; the day has not yet dawned, but we may look forward to it, and when it breaks, mists and shadows will melt before it, and burning

questions—even Woman's Disabilities—will find their true solution.

We can have an epidemic of ideas as well as of diseases. Some twenty or thirty years ago a mother's one thought was to marry off her daughter, whether she had a large dowry, a small one, or even none at all. It was the one aim a woman strove after, and one certainly more easily accomplished than in the present day. Husbandhunting mothers, and the schemes they had recourse to, in order to accomplish their object, has furnished abundant material for light literature and the stage; but while throwing ridicule upon a custom which was decidedly carried too far, people have forgotten that it had its basis in the true feminine nature. There were dangers then, but not of so grave a character as now. The

education of the period has developed other aims. A young girl, in default of matrimony, is to be prepared for some vocation which shall render her independent. Once having mastered the necessary preparation, her next object is to make practical use of her capabilities. She finds herself in a position, by means of her earnings, to afford herself luxuries, and to gratify her taste for dress and amusements. Other families think it worthy of imitation, other young girls follow her example; and ladies believe that to an educated man, higher education in the girl he selects as his wife must be welcome. And so it undeniably is, provided that the higher education and its ensuing claims is proportionate to her domestic training. If higher education goes hand in hand with domestic proclivities and modesty, a girl

could not be better fitted to rule a household. But if, through her more extended study, a girl be led away from the interests of domestic life, she will become not merely unpractical but exacting, and consequently unwilling to marry a man of small means. This, we find, is one of the rocks upon which the marriage question founders. In most large cities the unmarried women are counterbalanced by a large number of bachelors, thus affording girls opportunities of marrying. Why have these bachelors not married? It may be that in the springtime of life, when a man feels the most desire to make a home of his own, he had only enough to begin housekeeping upon in a small way, and even if that would have contented him, the girl he loved despised the small beginning, and refused to venture

upon "love in a cottage." The man learned to resign himself to his fate, and sought solace in amusement and dissipation; the habit of having only himself to care for has made him selfish, experience of domestic trials among his acquaintance has made him guarded. He puts up with the discomforts of a solitary life, and fights shy of domestic bliss, for which modest framework the girl of the period is no longer suited.

Girls, on their side, do not take a right view of matrimony. While the one pictures it to herself as a state of perpetual bliss, free from care and all discord, the other looks upon it merely as the fulfilment of her every wish, the atmosphere of pleasure and enjoyment, of luxury and freedom. Marriage entered upon under such conditions is desti-

tute of all moral ground-work, and must, in the first storm that overtakes it, come to grief. Far beyond all that exaggerated yearning after individual happiness and enjoyment should stand the earnest desire to do one's duty. "Not to be happy, but to deserve happiness," says the philosopher, "is the object of our existence." A girl should grasp the true purport of marriage, and faithfully strive to fulfil her duties as a wife, whether it have in store the perfection of bliss for her, or whether it be her lot to suffer heavy sorrow therein. The characters of the children, those tender buds whence the ever-continuous seed of humanity springs, should have the innate consciousness of a stern sense of duty implanted in them. And gladly as we acknowledge the remarkable progress made of late years in

education, we cannot overlook the fact, that in many of its efforts it oversteps the mark. The excessive care and attention expended upon children nowadays, which makes of them the centrepoint of the whole household, can but be detrimental to development of character. The modern craze of giving children all manner of entertainments, teaches them early to seek excitement out-of-doors; where formerly a simple doll, or a game of soldiers sufficed to give endless pleasure, the costliest toys are now of no avail. Children now demand all that their elders have; the little lad of seven or eight years old needs his bicycle, or his gun that he may not be debarred from his shooting, whilst little girls of four or five are allowed to run wild in the summer holidays in knickerbockers, that they may

learn to be "tom-boys." The consequences are unavoidable. Girls and boys, spoiled by this over-indulgence, have no idea of selfdenial or consideration for others; they simply grow up into egotistical beings, intent only upon obtaining and carrying out their own wishes and desires. Such training can only lead to unhappy marriages; the emancipation of women will be no help in that direction.

Among the various professions which the woman of the 19th century is eager to enter, there is a decided preference for the art of healing. To this, therefore, we will accord our special consideration.

In no profession has the controversy as to the propriety of women entering it been so keen as in that of medicine; none has

given rise to so much discussion. Their partisans date the right of women to take part in the profession from mythical times. Hygeia, the daughter of Æsculapius, was worshipped as the goddess of health; Isis, among ancient Egyptians, watched over the health of mankind; "Salus" and "Valetudo" were accounted, among the Romans, the chief protectresses of health and of public welfare. But as all myths have had their origin in fact, it may with confidence be assumed that those women who were formerly worshipped as the goddesses of health had in their time done much for the good of mankind. In ancient Rome, both young girls and matrons studied medicine, and some among their free women rose to much eminence and wealth. As, however, with them there was universal freedom in the following of all

callings and professions, every woman who gave herself out as a doctor could follow medicine. The calling soon, among women, grew into discredit and disrepute, and ended most inauspiciously. Not until the foundation of the University of Salerno do we meet again with Italian lady doctors, among whom certain of them, such as Tartula, Abella, Merluriadis, Rebald, and Constantia Calendo, attained to great celebrity. In the archives of the University of Bologna, mention is made of women of the 16th and 17th centuries, celebrated in medicine, among whom were the learned Anatomia Alexandra Gigliani, Maria Pettracina and her daughter Zaffira Peretti, as also Katharina From time to time we sub-Passi. sequently come across other celebrated women who have risen high above the level

of mediocrity, such as Oliva del Sabuco, in Spain, Felicité de Fay at the University of Montpellier, Anna Volley and Elizabeth Kent in England, and Anna Manzolini in Italy, who received a Professorship in Milan, was visited by the Emperor Joseph II., and loaded with honourable distinctions. But why-say the opponents of lady studentsif it be needed, and has proved so valuable, why has the calling of lady doctors not been maintained in continuity? Why should it again have fallen into disuse? Not until the 19th century, the century of social questions, has it been proposed to obtain a lasting position for women as doctors. The first advocate for women medical students, Miss Elizabeth Blackwell, after many years of struggle obtained entrance into the medical faculty of Geneva in 1842; in 1847

she received her doctor's degree, and went to England, Germany, and finally to Paris, to complete her studies. Her example fired others. In that same year a medical college for women was founded in Boston, in 1850 a similar one in Philadelphia, one in New York in 1868, and in Chicago in 1870. Soon after, the greater number of universities in America were thrown open to women, and by this their studies were largely extended. The difficulties proved far greater in Europe. The universities of Zürich in 1864, and of Berne in 1872, were the first to receive lady students for the study of medicine. In 1868 the Medical Faculty of Paris, chiefly through the intervention of the Empress Eugénie, first admitted lady students to follow the medical course. In Italy, in 1876, they obtained equal success; in Russia, an ukase

of the Czar Alexander II., of November 2nd, 1872, conferred upon ladies the right to attend the medical courses in the Medico-Chirurgical Academy of St. Petersburg, but this permission was subsequently withdrawn on political grounds, on the accession of a new government. In 1874 the first school of medicine for women was started in London; in 1876 they were admitted to the study of medicine in Dublin. In Germany and Austro-Hungary women are not allowed to enter the universities, although ladies' associations have obtained thousands of signatures to petition both parliaments on the subject. From statistical sources, we learn that there are seventy lady doctors in practice in London, five in Edinburgh, and two in Dublin. Seven hundred lady doctors practise in Russia, of whom fifty-four are the heads

of clinical schools and laboratories. In Italy, at the same time, there were only six. Spain has but two qualified lady doctors. Roumania, also, has two. Sweden, Norway and Belgium have likewise comparatively few. In Berlin there are Dr. Franziska Tiburtius and Dr. Lehmus (who founded a poly-clinical school which is increasing year by year), Dr. Margaret Mengarin-Traube and Fraulein Kuhnow. In Austria, Dr. Rosa Kerschbaumer is the sole possessor of Government authority to practise her profession. India, where native religion forbids their women calling in men doctors, there has been a strong movement in favour of ladies, and they have now one hundred lady doctors, three of whom are at the head of the three most important hospitals. The largest number of women practising medicine is in America. In the United States there are no less than three thousand lady practitioners, all of whom enjoy a position of honour and respect, and are in receipt of incomes varying from five to twenty thousand dollars and The above data appears to give sufficient evidence of woman's aptitude for the medical profession. How far these have been proofs of individual eminence or excellence—how closely that report compiled pro domo coincides with actual facts—it is not for us to judge. Moreover, lady students make appeal to the average result of men's examinations, and do not find that they are far behind them. Among medical bodies the greater number of the professors are opposed to ladies taking up medical studies, and we

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Taken from a published address given by Dr. Rosa Kerschbaumer.

are not inclined to think that such distinguished men would suffer themselves to be influenced by narrow motives. Geheimrath Waldever at the last medical congress (1888) pronounced himself distinctly against it. He said. "It would be as little calculated to promote the interests of medical science as of women themselves, were they to take up medicine as a profession." While Carl Vogt, having had repeated opportunities of observing lady students in the laboratory, gives it as his opinion, that, as a rule, they are decidedly unskilful as manipulators. This may possibly be an unduly severe judgment, and there are certainly many lady students who do not deserve the stricture; but relying on the name of him who has uttered it. we must believe it to be justified.

There have already been many objections

to the study of women in medicine, on the ground of morality, inasmuch as the students, who are for the most part young girls, are brought into contact with all the secrets of nature, all the wretchedness of human society; and in the towns where there are no ladies' universities, they are compelled to attend lectures in common with young medical students, and to work and study indiscriminately among them in the anatomical rooms. No one can pretend to doubt but that every bloom of innocent womanhood, of girlish idealism, must be withered in such an atmosphere; but the student sets the dignity of science, the pursuit of the good and useful, in the balance, and we can understand how her zeal, her love for science, raises her above every ignoble thought. We can but pay her the tribute

of admiration—and yet, we ask ourselves, is it a matter of necessity that she should thus triumph over her nature? Are lady doctors an essential with us? The warmest sympathy has been evoked by their representatives; and yet it is questionable whether such sympathy will be shown practically as time goes on. Will women themselves show confidence in a doctor of their own sex? Any error of judgment, any unsuccessful operation, would injure her reputation infinitely more than that of a male practitioner under like circumstances. All the evidence of her skill and ability in other cases would not avail to prevent doubt being cast upon the suitability of woman for the profession, and the voice of mistrust once aroused would be loudly echoed. Men practitioners who had viewed the adoption of the study of medicine by women disapprovingly would not be too cordial to their lady colleagues, and would be influenced in their judgment, some by prejudice, some by professional jealousy. To these dissentients we must confess it must be added those of their own sex actuated by petty envy of their pecuniary success, or of their intellectual superiority. They would look with scorn upon the scientific efforts of one of their own sex, and feel injured in their own self-esteem at being compelled to acknowledge her superior gifts. Such women--and they are legion-would never call in a lady doctor. The women of the lower orders are much more impressed by a male than by a female doctor, and would carry out his prescriptions far more conscientiously. The lady doctor is an exotic

and can thrive but with difficulty in those countries where male competition is in the preponderance. A man is endowed with greater physical strength, energy, and power of mental endurance than a woman; her deeper insight perhaps enables her to study effects more closely, and as a nurse, provided she has had the requisite scientific and practical training, she is invaluable to the patient, the doctor, and even to science, for a physician can be often assisted in the true diagnosis of a case through the observation and treatment of the phases of disease by a trained and skilful nurse.

Another point not to be overlooked, is that a woman whose strength is overtaxed, as often happens in the medical profession, ages much sooner than a man, and, grown old before her time, would

not be able to make the experience and knowledge she has gained of practical benefit. The mental capital which, in a man, is available when he is gray-headed, would be lost to an elderly woman. Some would advocate the treatment of women by women, in certain cases, on grounds of delicacy. But, again, it is highly questionable whether a lady doctor would succeed in winning the confidence of her own sex to any extent. It is a known fact that, in delicate cases, ladies consult only distinguished physicians, whose reputations are universally acknowledged, and that even a woman of limited means does not grudge the high fee in order to obtain an opinion in which she feels confidence. Is it to be expected that any lady doctor can attain to the like celebrity and popularity? Will

the adhesion of her lady patients justify her expectations—or will there be but a limited faint-hearted few knocking at her door? We cannot, at the present time, gauge the prospects of lady practitioners amongst us; it is one of those problems which time alone can solve.

Among lady doctors only a very small proportion are married. "Clearly," says Dr. Rosa Kerschbaumer, "because the higher education and her independent standing enable a woman to seek and to find her happiness apart from men." Is a woman then, as a doctor, to belie her womanhood, to have no feeling for domestic happiness? Is her heart to know no yearnings after love, and a mother's joy? The consciousness of duty done is to be her recompense for the longings of her

heart—or have they been deadened by the earnest nature of her calling? A lady doctor is often called upon to see into the very depths of family life, is often witness of some one of those heart-stirring episodes which occur during the sickness or recovery of one of its beloved members. And is she to remain an unmoved spectator of those touching scenes of such oft recurrence -the tenderness of husband to wife, or wife to husband, a mother's love, a child's utter dependence, are all these to pass by her without arousing in her heart the subtlest yearning after family love?

Youth clusters round the banner of idealism. The young lady doctor dreams of making a mark in her profession, and these dreams carry her high above commonplace hopes and wishes to the lofty heights

of fame. Her ambition, her high aspirations, may perhaps enable her in youth to more easily forego family love; but as years go on and dreams give place to stern reality, and the bloom of youth is withered, when she finds that she has over-rated her strength, and that her professional labours have not procured her the hoped-for success, she may be inclined to lament the mistake she has made in her life. Striving and endeavour is one thing, accomplishment and success another. Seldom is the promise of the bud fulfilled in the fruit.

There are, however, married lady doctors too, and we cannot understand how they can guard against their professional claims warring with their home duties. A German authoress tells us, that out of thirty-four

married lady doctors practising in New York, there are only two who have not nursed their infants themselves. It sounds almost incredible that, amid all the suffering and discomfort of motherhood, and while nursing her infant, a woman should be able to carry on her practice as doctor; going up and down the many stairs, breathing the unwholesome atmosphere of the sick room, undergoing the mental re-action consequent on the treatment of the sick, witnessing the distress of the bereaved—all this, when she feels herself about to become a mother, or when her rest is disturbed by her child, and she must endure care and discomfort on its account. Or does a lady doctor retire at such times for a while from her profession; does she only take it up occasionally? But the medical profession is

not to be played with; it is a holy calling, demanding the whole strength and mind of its devotee. And how is it, if a lady doctor, in the execution of her professional duties, is called into some infectious child's disorder? Will she not tremble for her own child, to whom, despite her every precaution, she may be taking the seeds of infection? And if her child sicken, if with her aching mother's heart she must leave that child's sick-bed to go to that of a stranger, to assuage his or her sufferings, while her own child lies in the throes of death at home! Suppose that, her duty nobly done, she goes back to find her precious little one cold and stiff, those eyes closed in death which had sought in vain a mother's tender gaze, the lips silent forever, which, perhaps, had called to her

in their extremity, the little hands so cold, that had been stretched out imploring for her!

Such a sorrow must nullify any satisfaction she might feel in the fulfilment of her professional work. And even had she been present at her child's death-bed-what would her mother's heart feel, when she had to witness the sufferings and death of other little ones? Or if her little patient pulled through, would not her powerlessness to save in her own case be haunting her? It may be objected that so extreme a case is not worthy of consideration, but it is possible, and every possibility can repeat itself. With a doctor, who is father of a family, such a case might also occur; but a man is made of sterner stuff and does not feel things as women do, nor would it be well that he should.

We have considered a woman's medical calling under many aspects, all of which are more or less adverse to it. It would then be a dangerous experiment to admit women to the study of medicine in our universities. Among the number of female students who would present themselves there must be a percentage of mediocre talent, which would prove incapable of complying with the stern requirements of so important a calling. The woman who feels within her the power to press forward to her mark, undismayed by any obstacle, will, of a certainty, find the ways and the means to attain to her object. This may seem unfair; and so it may be. Anyway, as far as we are concerned, we should hold it as even preferable that one specially gifted woman should fail to develop her powers than that a large number

of women, of average abilities, should enter upon professions for which they must inevitably prove themselves unfit. We may be told that numbers of professional men barely come up to the average. This we do not deny; but, in any case, the man is at least fulfilling his vocation as far as he can, while the woman would be doing it at the cost of hers.

It would carry us too far were we to go into the question of the adoption of other masculine callings by women. We will only briefly glance at it under its political aspect. America, which has granted every other privilege to its women in the way of emancipation, has, so far, not removed their political disabilities. In England, many noble women have actively opposed the question of the political rights of women, yet the

stream of aspirants is ever increasing, and eminent men have advocated woman's participation in every department of the affairs of State.

There is a proverb which says, "Two people can do the same thing, yet it is not the same." So is it with man and woman. Political struggles which often enough unchain most violent passions in the breast of a man, would arouse a tempest in a woman's heart out of all proportion with her moral strength. A woman who once loses her power of self-control has forfeited her womanhood; she is infinitely harder and more cruel than a man; ever so much more unforgiving and revengeful. Fashion has made gambling popular among women. Anyone who has quietly watched the scenes enacted round a gambling-table by women,

must admit that their passions, when once excited, are more violent than those of men, more revolting and hideous in their effects. How the soft delicate features harden, cloud over, grow distorted with passion, how their cheeks alternately flush and grow pale, how every look and gesture, a half-suppressed curse, a coarse word, betrays the violence raging within! We can, however, with thankfulness affirm, that but a very limited proportion of women give themselves up to the questionable delights of a pursuit which militates against every principle of higher ethics: those who do are but exceptions. But the fulfilment of political rights, when once they are granted, will demand woman's action as a duty. How does this harmonise with woman's mission as a peacemaker? What are the advantages to accrue

from the participation of the sex in political life? What compensation will it offer for the disadvantages it entails upon family life?

Clever women take up the modern idea with enthusiasm, forgetting that by so doing they become the pioneers of a path which may be mischievous and dangerous to many of their sisters. The ambition which now prompts young people of all ranks in life to aspire to higher education, whatever their qualifications, would, were all courses of study thrown open to women, induce many young girls, whose powers were totally unsuited to the requirements, to take the same lamentable step. Their failures would cause a mental deterioration in the female sex; disappointed lives, increased cases of mental derangement, and suicide among

women, would be the unavoidable, melancholy consequences.

We cannot here refrain from quoting a passage from Schiller's "Conversation with Christiana von Wurmb":

"Clever women are curious beings!" says our great poet. "When once they leave their own appointed sphere they soar to heights above, with amazing rapidity and with quick prophetic glance. But then they lack man's strong powers of restraint, that iron courage which opposes a stern resistance of every obstacle, and enables him firmly and surely to proceed on his course. Weaker woman has let go of her first sublime standpoint, and must, inevitably, become either ridiculous or unhappy." We believe ourselves justified in quoting these words, as we contest the opening up of universities and

colleges to women. If women are to be protected from mental disturbance and from disappointed lives, let us preserve our gifted, clever sisters for the sanctity of domestic life; it would not be desirable that all the most intelligent women should be drawn away from it. A gifted, intellectual woman who is engaged in the faithful performance of her duties as wife, mother, and housekeeper, does not only promote the welfare of her own family, but is an example to others. Her influence upon society will be more powerful and ennobling, her deeds and aspirations infinitely more rich in blessings to the community, than if her life had been devoted to science.

Withal, a woman's sphere of action must not be solely restricted to home life; where circumstances allow, if she be childless, or

her children grown-up, she may legitimately take up and interest herself in intellectual pursuits. We know how gifted women have, in all ages, exerted an influence upon art and literature, by their encouragement inspiring eminent men of learning and art to great works and noble deeds. A man's highest work is often prompted by woman; she is the inpulse, he the creative power. Although, hitherto, custom and law have not placed her on the same level with him, she yet has her full part in all we possess of the true, the good, and the beautiful. Our authoresses and lady artists give us noble work in the departments of literature and art, and find that their efforts meet with universal recognition and support.

In another sphere of action we gladly acknowledge woman's work; that is, in de-

voting their spare time and energy to benevolent institutions; thereby, through their humanitarian efforts, conducing to the relief of social distress. By these means it is open to every energetic, noble-spirited woman to find a field for the use of her powers, without infringing on man's exclusive territory. With regard to a woman's means of selfsupport, all manner of employments are open to her, and are ever increasing, so that, in the present day, no active woman need fail of the means to procure herself her simple necessaries. If there are many cases in which the difficulties of making a subsistence are still painfully felt, we can but repeat, that, unhappily, they apply not alone to women, but to men. It is beyond the limits of this pamphlet to enter more closely into this social question.

We draw to a conclusion. To have contested the struggle for the political and social equality of women with men, from an ideal, as well as practical, standpoint, with the voice of the heart as well as with that of the understanding, is the object of our task. We trust we have not pointed out in vain the dangers which threaten ourselves and future generations from such equality; and are convinced that many noble minds will be of our opinion. We see in the success of those endeavours the endangering of one of the highest goods of humanityfamily life. We fear that in the unequal conflict betwixt man and woman the attitude of the two sexes will become hostile to each other, without one or the other finding the struggle for existence in any way lightened to them; we are alarmed for the good of the children, those tender little beings, who can only develop happily under the sunshine of a mother's love and care. And, in the light of these considerations, we believe the one answer to the question with which we started—"Will the equality of the two sexes conduce to the good of humanity at large?"—is a decided negative.

It may be that we have succeeded in convincing some who have held a contrary opinion. Many people are ready to allow themselves to drift with the stream, without thoroughly sifting a question. Thus watchwords are passed from mouth to mouth, which spread like an epidemic, and affect the strongest heads. But great intellects are often impaired by partiality; and if the psychological eye be short-sighted, its judgment becomes less trust-

worthy. Many a prospect may look enticing, many a narrow path seem to open out into the broad road of promise, but few ask whither it leads. Whither? None may answer the question now with certainty. One thing only we know: when the stream has once dug itself a bed, it is no longer possible to check its course. Its impetuous waves uproot everything before it and dash onwards to dangerous rocks and shoals. Once the solution of the great problem known, there can be no return, not even if we have to learn that it has been accomplished to our hurt. But before we make the great venture, and by going against the immovable laws of nature procure new conditions of life for ourselves, let us rather pause and seek to stem the

current. Perhaps the time is not far off when the efforts of lovers of peace and good-will among nations may bring about the disarmament of Europe. This great work accomplished, domestic relations would soon offer brighter prospects to both sexes.

While waiting for better times, instead of expending our strength contending for mistaken aims, let us rather turn our attention to the present; instead of tearing down established institutions, let us carefully examine if we cannot help to fit in more firmly the foundation stones of the great edifice of human welfare, loosened by time and adverse agencies; let us try to close up the gaping rifts. Let us endeavour to order our mode of living with greater simplicity, to limit our pretensions

to luxury and pleasure, and return to ways of greater conscientiousness in the fulfilment of duty; thus shall we steer clear of the non-marrying difficulty, which has brought the question of Women's Rights to the fore, and thousands of our girls will find their happiness and aim in life in their natural vocation, instead of seeking consolation for themselves in masculine occupations. True wifely submission, self-sacrificing affection, contentment, and practical knowledge of her housekeeping duties will make marriage infinitely happier to a woman; and the careful education of her children, in whose hearts from earliest infancy a strong sense of duty should be instilled, may then justify the hope that future generations will not be led to seek the amelioration of social relations in mistaken directions.

Let us hold fast to the highest and best that belongs to us women, the vocations of wife and mother, and do our utmost to win others over to our convictions.

In this way can each woman of like mind contribute in the best and noblest manner to the solution of the question of the Emancipation of Women.

THE END.

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